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PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS NEWSLETTER

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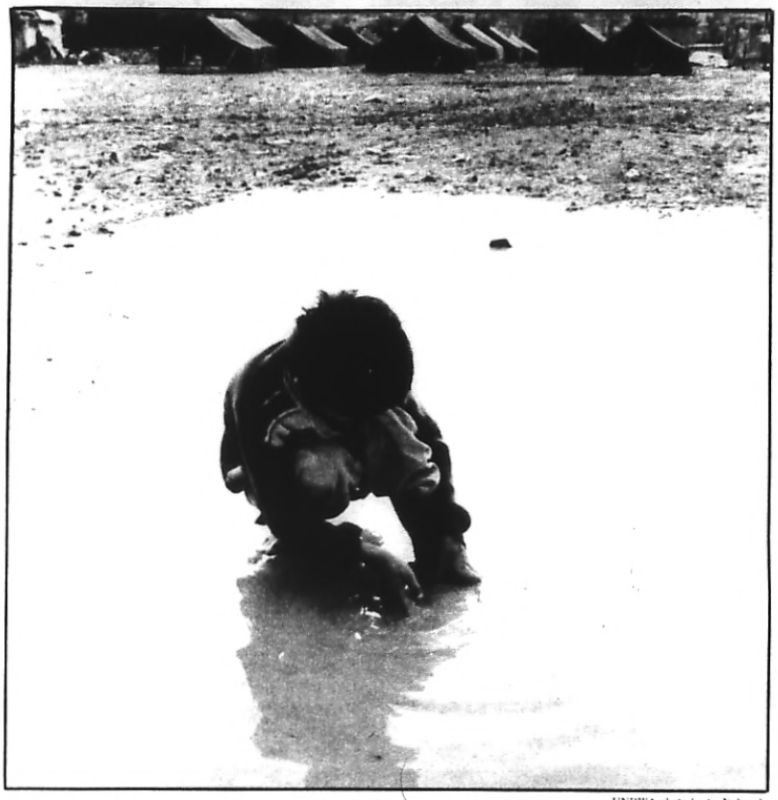

UNRWA photo by G. Nehmeh

The Commission of Inquiry — A Palestinian View

— Dr. Ghada Talhami

However damaging to leading officials like Ariel Sharon and Menachem Begin, the conclusions of the Israeli Commission of Inquiry into the Beirut massacre cannot alleviate Palestinian fears. Though the entire international community (including staunch supporters of Israel) was horrified by the Sabra and Shatilla massacre, it is worth noting that Palestinians themselves have mostly exhibited sadness and resignation. Having previous experience of several massacres by Israeli forces, Palestinians were neither surprised nor shocked by these newest atrocities.

Palestinians remember Deir Yassin in 1948, Qibya in 1954, and Kufr Qassim in 1956. The Israeli cabinet itself authorized the destruction of the village of Qibya by Ariel Sharon, then a junior officer already reputed to have a penchant for violence. Except for Deir Yassin (plotted during Begin's earlier involvement with terrorism), these massacres took place under the rule of the Labor Alignment. So when venerable politicians like Abba Eban and Yitzhak Rabin march to protest Israeli complicity in the Beirut massacre, Palestinians point out that these men were part of the ruling leadership of the Mapai, a political coalition itself responsible for previous massacres. So we greet the results of the commission with resignation based on experience.

As for the Palestinian remnant in Lebanon, harassment and murder continue unabated. First bludgeoned and now terrorized in a country whose state apparatus is obligated to a much strengthened Phalangist party, for these Palestinians the words of the commission provide little solace.

Palestinians familiar with Israeli life view the strong condemnation of the responsible officials as a seed which they hope may grow. Perhaps the commission's report signifies that the Zionist consensus in Israel is finally breaking down; perhaps we are at the threshold of the era described years ago by the leading dove, Uri Avnery, as "Israel without Zionists;" perhaps the removal of those responsible for the massacre will be

(Continued on Page 4)

The Invasion of Lebanon

- Maher Ahmad

According to columnists Evans and Novak, President Reagan is so upset with Israel he is considering cutting off military aid because Israel is willfully torpedoing Lebanese troop withdrawl negotiations. By examining history, we can reach an understanding of Israel's two motives for invading Lebanon. These motives explain its reluctance to leave, as well as clarify Arab charges that Israel is expansionist.

Creating "Peace for Galilee" was only an excuse for concealing Israel's real intentions in invading Lebanon, which were 1) to destroy Palestinian nationalism by force, and 2) to occupy, and eventually retain, the southern part of Lebanon.

Let's examine the first motive. The PLO has never been a serious military threat to Israel — the Pentagon tells us that Israel has the fourth most powerful military in the world. So the invasion had a political, not a military goal. Menachem Begin's government hoped that brutal bombardment would so demoralize and disperse the Palestinian people that they would abandon all hope of regaining even a small part of their rightful heritage, promised them as long ago as after World War I by Great Britain, the United States, and the League of Nations.

The attempt has proven futile. Thoughtful Jews, reflecting on their own tragic history, know that the more you humiliate, disperse, and persecute a homeless nation, the greater grows its determination to achieve the dignity and self-preservation that come from living, as a nation, in its ancient homeland.

The second intent of the invasion seems to have been the occupation, looking toward the eventual retention, of southern Lebanon, as the most recent addition to Greater Israel. History lends credence to this interpretation. In 1919, the Zionist Organization presented its territorial plan for the future "Jewish National Home" to the great powers at the Paris peace conference. Its map included not only all of what became British mandated Palestine, but also part of the Sinai, western Jordan up to the city Amman, part of Syria well beyond the recently annexed Golan Heights, and southern Lebanon up to the city

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Notice to PHRC Readers:

By special arrangement, the *PHRC Newsletter* will be sent to our mailing list with the Jerusalem Palestinian weekly, *Al-Fajr*, for the next three issues, at no additional cost. In June, PHRC readers will have the opportunity to subscribe to *Al-Fajr* after this three month introductory offer concludes.

DIRECTLY TO THE POINT

American citizens are reported to have fought with the Israeli Defense Forces during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. American and Lebanese residents of Beirut first raised the issue during interviews with PHRC members in Lebanon. These individuals claimed to have held conversations with *Americans in Israeli uniforms* who asked them to relay information to their families in the United States. PHRC has referred the matter to the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee for confirmation.

If true, is it not possible that Americans under IDF orders could engage in combat with Americans under multinational command? Enough is enough. That Israel is exempt from the Arms Export Control Act offends all Americans concerned with the integrity of our legal system; but that Israel is exempt from the clause in American passports threatening "Loss of nationality" for "serving in the armed forces ... of a foreign state" is an outrage, especially when it could conceivably lead to the death of Americans at the hand of other Americans.

Enough is enough. Israel should not be exempt from American laws. When the Arms Export Agreement is broken, military aid should be cut off; when Americans fight under a foreign flag, they should lose their citizenship. From the Congress and State Department, we ask just one thing — implement the law.

PALESTINE HUMAN RIGHTS NEWSLETTER

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Editorial Collective: Ed Roberts, Linda Kateeb, Dick Reilly, Ghada Talhami, Don Wagner, David Williams.

Correspondence should be sent to the PHRC office.

NEW from MEDINA

PALESTINIAN RIGHTS
Affirmation and Denial

Edited by Ibrahim Abu-Lughod

The "crux" of the Middle East conflict is the question of Palestine; the essence of that question is the attainment by the Palestinian people of their historic national rights. In this book of essays, seventeen distinguished international scholars examine, analyze, and detail Palestinian national rights, including their right to national identity, sovereignty in Palestine, return, and representation. Israel's deliberate and systematic violations of these rights in the form of conquest, colonialization, oppression, and expulsion from their national patrimony are portrayed on the basis of Israel's actual practices in occupied Palestine, and examined in the light of the principles of international law. The international assessment and response to these rights and violations are carefully probed and documented.

Carefully read, the various essays in this anthology would alert us to the policies and practices which Israel will pursue in occupied Lebanon with the aim of implementing its objectives of territorial aggrandizement and liquidation of Palestinian Rights.

The various authors include Edward W. Said, Janet Abu-Lughod, Archie Singham, Henry Cattan, Michael Adams, W.T. Mallison, John Quigley, S.S. Nyang, Bayan Al-Hout, Muhammad Hallaj, and others.

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George Karayan
Courtesy of Asharq Al-Awsat

On Debate Over the Reagan Plan at the Palestine National Council in Algiers

"Why should we go through the trauma of splitting up our organization debating whether or not to get on a bus that does not have a motor in it."

— Mr. Abdel Rahman

LETTERS

On the Political Position of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign

To the Editors:

Among supporters of peace and human rights, disagreement often arises over how Palestinian rights should be recognized in an overall peace settlement. Specifically, does the right of Palestinians to national self-determination mean the right to establish an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza, or does it mean a unitary, democratic state in all of Palestine?

This is a tough question — and we know it will be answered only through the long process of struggle and negotiation. For example, in recent years, there have been abundant signs that the PLO would consider a peace settlement in return for an independent state in the West Bank and Gaza. If this were achieved, the present state of armed conflict between Palestinians and Israelis would cease. But the struggle to change the discriminatory features of the Zionist state would undoubtedly continue, by a variety of political means, until Israel was transformed. A two-state solution, therefore, does not preclude the eventual creation of a unitary, democratic, secular state in Palestine.

So the two-state solution and the unitary solution are not necessarily exclusive eventualities, although they may be. Given this situation, and the rejection of *any* independent Palestinian state by the Israeli and American governments at this point in time, there seems to be no good reason for PHRC to take a definitive position on the final political solution.

As American defenders of Palestinian rights, PHRC is responsible for creating in the United States a political atmosphere favorable to the fullest possible recognition of Palestinian rights. We should pressure the US and Israeli governments to negotiate with the PLO. We should take *no* position on the two-state solution versus the democratic, secular state in Palestine. Our job is to maintain that any just settlement must address the national and human rights of the Palestinian people.

David Williams
Chicago, Illinois

On Debate in the United States over An Appropriate American Relation to Israel

"the question is whether we are prepared as responsible citizens to have the money of American taxpayers used to subsidize activities that are against our national interests."

—The Honorable George W. Ball

CONTRIBUTORS THIS ISSUE

Dr. Ghada Talhami is the National Chairperson of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. Maher Ahmad heads the Palestine Information Service in Chicago. "The Invasion of Lebanon" was adapted from his personal view column in the Chicago *Sun Times*, 18 February, 1983.

ACTION ALERTS

(MARCH, 1983)

I. Ibrahim Daqqaq: Mr. Daqqaq is Chairman of the Engineers' Union on the West Bank (representing physicians, dentists, engineers, lawyers, pharmacists, clergy, etc.). On Jan. 13, 1983, he was ordered again to remain inside his house from dusk to dawn, and cannot leave Jerusalem at all (continuing an order since Aug. 1980).

We demand Mr. Daqqaq be freed from this harassment in order to fulfill his responsibilities. Write your local engineers, lawyers, etc. unions asking them to adopt this case and press the Israeli Military Government to release Mr. Daqqaq. 2. Write Amnesty Int'l. (The Secretariat, 10 Southampton, London, W.C. 2E7HI urging A-I to adopt this as a "Prisoner of Conscience Case." 3. Write Israeli Military Commondes - Uri Orr; Ramallah - West Bank via Israel demanding Mr. Daqqaq to be freed.

II. Academic Freedom: PHRC Chapters will be receiving a new BULLETIN on academic freedom and are asked to focus special activities on this theme during April. In the meantime, two cases merit special attention:

A. Kalandia Teachers' Training College: On Monday, February 14, 1983 Israeli soldiers broke into the Kalandia School and arrested 150 students and two faculty, searched all rooms, and destroyed several items. Students were beaten with rifles and mistreated according to a professor who wrote the following: "They (the Israel soldiers) beat students on different parts of their bodies, kicked them and threw them on the ground. The students were then forced to put their hands on the back of their heads, against the wall. During this time soldiers struck the students heads against the wall. Finally, three large military trucks carried the students to Musco Giyeh Prison. (All of this was initiated after a demonstration by the students within the school grounds). Protest this maltreatment and write: Elliot Abrams, State Dept., #7802. Wash., D.C., Israeli Civilian Administration. Ramallah - West Bank via Israel 20520

B. Palestine Research Center: The theft of materials of cultural and historical significance to the Palestinians in the Beirut Research Center (Sept. 22-23, 1982) is a crime of cultural and academic importance which mandates a response from US professional associations, academic institutions, etc. If you belong to a professional association, university community, or cultural organization, begin to act now in order to secure a resolution demanding that "Israel return **all** material stolen from the Palestine Research Center last September and that this material be made available again to the international community."

PHRC REPORT

National Report

While much of January and February were spent raising funds, PHRC is now back in motion on several fronts.

1) Academic Freedom Campaign — PHRC is working in tandem with several national and regional organizations during late March and April on the broad question of academic freedom. PHRC Bulletin #34 is in the mail — it presents background information and university statements on the status of higher education in the Occupied Territories.

Mr. Tim Divine, former teacher at Ramallah Friends School, is coordinating the campaign for PHRC. We will facilitate teachins across the US, a tour of West Bank spokespersons, resolutions by faculty and professional associations, a petition drive, and sending Americans to a West Bank work camp. We will also monitor specific cases of human rights violations regarding academic freedom.

2) National Convention and Board Meeting in Atlanta — The National Office is preparing for the national convention in Atlanta, May 5-7, on the theme "War and Peace in the Holy Land: What Does Biblical Justice Require Of Us?" The conference is designed for American evangelical Christians, the black church, as well as mainstream denominations. American, Arab, and Jewish theologians and political analysts will be on the program.

The next meeting of the PHRC Board of Directors will follow the Convention on May 8th.

3) Chicago Pilot Projects Ready — We hope to transfer to other localities several projects conceived and refined here in Chicago. We have developed a telephone-tree for action alerts; a group of forty people who monitor radio, television, and newspapers; a year-long education project in Palestinian history; and a speakers training group on Palestinian human rights.

4) Israel in Central America Conference — We are organizing a one day conference in Chicago on June 4th focusing on Israeli and American policy in Central America. Dr. Noam Chomsky of MIT, and the journalist Penny Lerneaux will speak. The day will culminate with an evening dinner and meeting on "The Lebanon War: Reflections One Year Later."

5) Organizational — An active steering committee, led by co-coordinators Dr. Dewey Beegle and Mr. Saba Shami, have successfully organized a Washington, DC Chapter, PO Box 2353, Alexandria, VA 22301.

PHRC will open a West Coast Regional Office in Seattle, WA under the guidance of Dr. Fawzi Khouri. Work is expanding slowly and carefully throughout the northwest.

Chapter Report

The Sacramento Chapter of PHRC has demonstrated how a small group of committed and creative individuals can bring the message of Palestinian rights to important Americans at a regional level. Over the past three years, coordinator Chris Maupin has helped build an effective and active chapter.

1) Work with the Peace Community — Two years ago, Sacramento PHRC met with the Sacramento Peace Center to discuss mutual concerns. In addition to the second stage propulsion system for the MX missile, it was discovered that the Aerojet Corporation was producing cluster bomb units. Since the war in Lebanon, PHRC and the Center have joined forces — the latest picket line at Aerojet was held January 25th.

2) Legislative Action — Meetings were held with California Congressmen Fazio and Matsui during the invasion of Lebanon to protest the illegal use of cluster bombs. Pressure was increased through letter writing, and persistent inquiries. Though responsive, the two congressional offices have avoided the basic issue. PHRC Sacramento continues to inform and challenge the Congressmen.

3) Media — Reporters investigated Palestinian and Israeli perspectives in a five-part series on KCRA-TV. PHRC made suggestions concerning the program. Reporter Tom Duhame then personally visited such leaders as Mayor Shaka, Birzeit V.P. Gabi Baramki, and lawyer Felicia Langer. When Duhane began to focus on collective punishment, torture, and violations of academic freedom, local Zionist groups accused the reports of being "PLO propaganda." North California ADC and Sacramento PHRC applauded the station for its balanced presentation. This illustrates what vigilant media relations before, during, and after a program can accomplish.

Chris Maupin can be reached at 2665 Matheson Way, Sacramento, CA 95825.

Focus on the US

It is now obvious that the Administration is uncertain of the tactics necessary to pursue the Reagan initiative. The last six weeks suggest incoherence and disarray. On the one hand, the single Marine with a pistol holding off Israeli tanks symbolized the decline of US-Israeli rapport since Camp David. On the other hand, Reagan said the US was willing to "guarantee Israel's security along its northern border," a friendly gesture that neither State Department nor congressional officials could clarify. In short, confusion reigns in Washington.

Or perhaps Presidential politics are already beginning to interfere with foreign policy. While the Mayor of New York is getting an Israeli tour of occupied Lebanon, Democratic hopefuls are already asserting their anti-Palestinian credentials. With Mondale and Cranston already on record, candidates Hart and Hollings have found it necessary to court Jewish political and financial support by repeating the standard cliches. As for Senator Glenn, William Saffire assures us that any American candidate that doesn't toe the line will be subjected to Arab-baiting in the *New York Times*.

After Sabra and Shatilla, it is tragic that American hopes for a comprehensive and just settlement are still subordinated to the short-sighted calculations of presidential politics.

City Report: Boston, Mass.

Boston continues to be a center of activity in the struggle to promote Palestinian human rights in the northeastern United States. February was especially productive. Arab-American, progressive, community, and peace groups were active within the Boston area. A few examples:

- The General Union of Palestinian Students, the Committee for a Democratic Palestine, the North American Friends of Palestinian Universities, and others sponsored a well-attended commemorative celebration honoring the 16th anniversary of the Palestinian revolution.
- AAUG, ADC, NAAA and Women for Women in Lebanon held a press conference at the Parker House to respond to the release of the final results of Israel's Commission of Inquiry. Characterizing the findings a ploy to vindicate Israel's image as a democracy, the press conference attracted local attention in the media by stressing that real peace in the region was dependent upon recognizing Palestinian rights.
- The American Friends Service Committee organized a speaking engagement for Matti Peled, noted Israeli peace activist. Peled and journalist Uri Avnery recently met PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat in Algiers.
- Also last month, the Lebanon Emergency Committee organized a panel discussion of the war and its aftermath; the Organization of Arab Students at Boston University held a fundraiser and cultural evening in Cambridge; and SEARCH, an organization focusing on peace and justice in the Middle East, sponsored Ellen Cantrow, writer for the *Village Voice*.

(Note: Each issue, "City Reports" will summarize activities, problems, and initiatives concerning the struggle to defend Palestinian rights in different American cities. In addition to reporting activities, readers are encouraged to send analysis of local conditions, as well as suggestions and criticism for regional activity.)

NEWSBRIEFS

PHRC, PCNA, ADC, NAAA, & AAUG Cited by Zionists

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith issued a 100-page handbook last month, entitled Pro-Arab Propaganda in American. According to Abraham Foxman, spokesman for the League's International Affairs Division, the handbook documents a well organized campaign to secure American recognition of the P.L.O., "despite the fact that the P.L.O. remains a terrorist group committed to the destruction of Israel."

The handbook lists the five organizations in the forefront of "pro-Arab propaganda" as the NAAA, AAUG, ADC, PCNA, and PHRC. As PHRC rebuilds in 1983, we continue to find ourselves among good company.

Anti-Christian Incidents Continue in Jerusalem

An attempt to explode cooking gas cylinders in the Russian Orthodox Church of Ein Kerem (a suburb of Jerusalem) was foiled, according to the *Jerusalem Post*. The attack was the last in a series of acts of vandalism toward Christian Churches in the Jerusalem region over a 10-day period in early January. The other churches which were vandalized include the Notre Dame and Greek Catholic churches, which had swastikas and the word "out" painted on them. The Ethiopian Church in Old Jerusalem had its gates covered with excrement during the same period.

Ziad Abu Ein Case Goes to Israeli Supreme Court

The Israeli Supreme Court will consider the case of Ziad Abu Ein on March 6, 1983. Ziad is a Palestinian from Ramallah who lived in Chicago before extradition to Israel on December 13, 1982.

Ziad was accused and convicted in the Israeli District Court of Tel Aviv on June 17, 1982, on the allegation that he placed a bomb in a public place where 34 were injured and 2 persons died. During this trial, the only evidence presented against Ziad was a third-party confession (made under duress) which had been recanted under oath.

Israelis Rule South Lebanon

The Israeli-controlled militia of renegade Lebanese Major Saad Haddad expanded its control over Southern Lebanon, setting up new positions in the port city of Sidon, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*.

The move occurred one day after a statement by Israel's chief negotiator, David Kimche, that Israel would be open to a partial pullout from occupied Lebanon if Palestinian first left the eastern and northern regions. (*CSM*, 2/28/83)

Important New Book: Civilian Administration in the Occupied West Bank

The second volume in the series "Law in the Service of Man" has been released by West Bank lawyers Jonathan Kuttab and Raja Shehadeh. The importance of this brief analysis of Israeli Military Order #947 is seen in this quotation: "The military government has, in fact, been acting within that territory as a fully sovereign government exercising complete legislative, administrative, and judicial authority over the area and its inhabitants and institutions . . . [Military Order #947] is more like a unilateral declaration of a constitutional change." (page 8).

You can order the book ($5 per copy) from Law in the Service of Man; P.O. Box 35; Wapakonta, Ohio 45895.

Eitan's Iron Hand in West Bank

Eclipsed by news of Israel's "indirect responsibility" in the Beirut massacres was Israeli Chief of Staff General Rafael Eitan's admission that he ordered "harassment" and collective punishment on the West Bank last spring.

The "harassment" included: detaining teenagers as "troublemakers," yet not pressing formal charges; building detention camps for interrogation and imprisonment; punishing families of students who participated in demonstrations; denying entire villages the right to purchase certain goods as a form of collective punishment; encouraging extremist Jewish settlers to carry arms and fire upon Palestinian demonstrators or stone-throwing children . . .

U.S. Congressmen Meet Village Leaguers

Mustafa Dudein and two other Village League leaders met various U.S. Congressmen during their recent trip to Washington, which was sponsored by Congressman James Scheuer (D-NY). Dudein met privately with Lee Hamilton (D-IN), chair of House Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, and Clarence Long (D-MD), Chair of the House Foreign Operations Subcommittee.

Palestinians widely regard the Village League movement as an Israeli political and economic ploy to undermine duly elected leadership in the Occupied Territories and to promote Israeli-backed "quislings" in place of these officials.

Campaign of Terror Continues in Palestinian Refugee Camps

On February 11th, an UNWRA spokesman noted that 15 bodies, most identified as Palestinians, were discovered near Ain al-Hilweh refugee camp near Sidon. These recent massacres were blamed on "Christian militias," according to the spokesman, which the Associated Press identified as the Phalangists and Guardians of the Cedars.

Foreign journalists in South Lebanon stated on February 10th that Israeli forces raided houses in Burj al-Shamali refugee camp on the pretext of a weapons search. Earlier in the week, several refugees were injured in Mia' Mia Camp outside of Sidon, which suffered its third major explosion in as many weeks.

Commission

(Continued from Page 1)

followed by measures designed to alter the Zionist foundations of the state. One must hope.

But it is more likely that as soon as the cabinet reassigns Sharon and others to less controversial posts, the storm will pass. By going through the motions of abiding by the Kahan report, the current government can mollify Israeli domestic opinion, and reap a large propaganda harvest by reasserting Israel's claim to be the foremost democratic state in the region. All this will of course leave the army free to pursue its pacification of the West Bank and occupation of Lebanese soil.

If the Begin government survives, or gives way to a Labor government which persists in pursuing policies similar to those which have shaped Israeli-Palestinian relation under Mapai in the past, then the Israeli threat to Palestinian survival will become more severe, as will the Israeli threat to the peace of the entire region. As long as the Law of Return (which grants citizenship to any Jew anywhere who wishes to make Israel his home) is retained as the basis of the state, the logic of Zionism will commit Israeli authorities to expell as many Palestinians as possible, and should they refuse, to exterminate them.

Sadly, Palestinians have long understood that the West admires Israeli democratic institutions that are in large part based on a Zionist consensus and concomitant denial of Palestinian rights. Israel has enjoyed an orderly transfer of political leadership because none of its political groupings, including the Communist Party, have ever challenged the political ideology of the state. But Palestinians have always been the victims of this consensus. Is it therefore any surprise that Palestinians doubt that significant changes will proceed from the massacre investigation?

Invasion of Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)

of Sidon, well north of the valuable waters of the Litani River.

This area, at the least, is what Begin means when he refers to the "Eretz Israel" that he has repeatedly claimed as God's biblical real estate deal with the Jewish people. The plan was rejected, but, as Israel's first President, Chaim Weizmann, was to say to Winston Churchill in 1944: "It's possible to take two bites at the cherry." Or three. Or more.

As early as 1954, a plan was formulated to annex southern Lebanon. Moshe Sharrett, then Prime Minister, recorded in his recently published diary a talk he had at the time with Moshe Dayan.

> *According to Dayan, the only thing that's necessary is to find an officer, even just a major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the saviour of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory, and create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani southward will be totally annexed to Israel. . . . If we accept the advice of Dayan, we would do it tomorrow.*

Though it took a quarter of a century, it has now been done. Nor is this the first Israeli occupation of Arab lands. Israel occupied the Sinai three times. In exchange for its most recent withdrawl, it neutralized Egypt in the military balance of power, enabling it to invade Lebanon.

Israel — and its shaky economy — needs Lebanon's water and markets to support its expansive settlement policy on the West Bank. It will manufacture a continuous stream of excuses to justify its occupation. It will leave this latest part of "liberated" Eretz Israel only when the President and Congress of the United States has the courage, as Eisenhower once did, to stand up to the powerful and ubiquitous Israeli lobby and rein in our recalcitrant ally by tightening the purse strings. In 1980, Israel drained American tax revenues by about $5 million a day — this to a nation whose population is about that of the city of Chicago.

Neither our national interests in the Middle East, nor the state of our own economy, afford us the luxury of permitting Israel to establish new "facts on the ground" in Lebanon, or in the West Bank. On the contrary, it is time to demand the occupations of Lebanon and the West Bank be terminated. If not done in a reasonable time, it is time American military aid be terminated.